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A DEFENCE  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN,

AGAINST A CHARGE OF  
T Y R A N N Y

IN THE GOVERNMENT OF  
I R E L A N D,

BY AN IRISHMAN. *K.*

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,  
TWO LETTERS IN ANSWER, BY  
LUCIUS HIBERNICUS AND SARSFIELD.

AND A REPLY,  
BY A REAL IRISHMAN.

D U B L I N:

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A. D. 1850

GREAT BRITAIN

AGAINST A CHARGE OF

THE R. A. N. Y.



I. R. H. D.

H. W. L. S. H. M. A.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

THE LITERATURE IN AMERICAN

THE HIBERNICUS AND SHERFIELD

AND A LITTLE

THE R. A. N. Y.

D. U. R. M. A.

THE LITERATURE OF THE HIBERNICUS

THE LITERATURE OF THE HIBERNICUS

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# P R E F A C E.

**T**HE Author of the following sheets does not pretend to enter into a discussion of the Commercial Laws which restrain the trade of Ireland. He thinks their tendency inconsistent with the rules of sound policy, but at the same time does not conceive, that the exercise of them, comes within the meaning of that hateful word Tyranny; which signifies “despotic government, cruel, *severe, uncontrouled by law*”. He is happy to find that, the epithets explaining the word, do not apply in any degree to the government of Great Britain or Ireland.—The author imagines that the facts related in this weak essay (the principal merit of which consists in its being the *only* attempt to lay matters impartially before the public) relative to the conduct of our landholders, manufacturers, absentees, &c. &c. will be thought fully sufficient, by every dispassionate reader to involve this country in her *present distress* without recurring to the Tyranny of Great Britain as the cause which has been rung in our ears so often by a *Faction*, solely with a view to sow dissention at this critical period between Great Britain and Ireland.

A  
D E F E N C E  
O F  
G R E A T B R I T A I N.

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**M**IGHTY Empires, as well as Individuals have fallen through luxury and dissipation; but it has remained, from the beginning of time, for this *Æra* to produce an example, wherein a settled System of *wanton* disaffection on the part of some, and folly in others, should unite to the ruin of themselves and their Country. Such a Solecism in common sense and policy, could never be credited, if the consequence of their insatiation was not so apparent, as to present the gloomy certainty, (should they persevere) of their destruction. To lament their fate, as involving numbers of innocent well-meaning people in their ruin, to warn them of their danger, is natural and humane, even though I should be mistaken in the principles I reason from. Yet such is the nature of faction at all times, but more particularly now, that it is more than probable, the utmost efforts of the *Party* will be to obscure the Philanthropy of the intention in clouds of abuse; though according to my principles I cannot possibly have any other in view, than to inform the deluded well-meaning part of the community, that our present distress does not *principally* proceed from the restrictions laid upon our trade by Great Britain, and that consequently the scheme of Independence under the auspices of France, (and for a reception of which, the *Party* must first poison the minds of the people to render them disaffected) is *chimerical, criminal and ruinous.*

It



It would be in vain to attempt answering the numerous Sophisms and Contradictions, daily advanced by a set of Pamphlet and Essay writers, who so strongly exclaim against *any* connection with Great Britain. Whatever opinion I may have of their abilities, I certainly can pay no compliment to their politics, which are nothing less, than under a plausible *popular* call, for an association to wear our own Manufactures, to spread disaffection through the nation, imitate the American non-importation agreement, and in the end like them, accept of *Freedom* from the House of Bourbon. They seem to me to resemble Scavengers, who collect dirt from the different dung-hills, and then scatter it indiscriminately on all they meet. Thus let the consequences of war, a misfortune or a misconduct all *our own*, affect us, they charge all at random on our Commerical Laws, and the *iron band of power*. *The Tyranny and unfeeling temper of Great Britain, &c. &c.* are echoed through the kingdom, which can answer no end, and they know it, but inflaming the uninformed multitude, to prepare them for their purpose. Great Britain conscious our distress, does not proceed solely from her, when she grants us relief, (as assuredly she will) won't do it from the imputed motives, but because she knows, that from the causes, &c. hereafter mentioned, we stand much in need of it.

The criterion by which we may judge of an opposition from factious motives, or pretended wrongs, and an opposition to real injuries, is that the former are never to be satisfied. Grant a faction, what was first asked, and they will certainly rise in their demands; whereas, when you redress a real injury, the party, who had no latent malignant design in view is satisfied, and all is harmony again. When the relaxation of our commerical laws was first mentioned in the British Parliament, it surprized the *party* here, as it had never entered into *their* heads to apply for any kind of relief for their distressed country; therefore

fore, they were at a loss what measures to take, and seriously and rationally talked of a union ;\* but when the *whole* house of Bourbon took their *distressed brethren* in America under their protection, their tone was instantly changed, an invasion was to take place, because the English fleet, to compleat their scheme of independence, was to be destroyed. *They* would not connect themselves with the misfortunes, or *faded* splendour of Great Britain ; but they were, with the assistance of their *great and good Allies*, to rise with *uncommon* splendour out of her ashes. It is really amazing to hear, with what seeming sincerity, ease, and unconcern, they talk over those plans of their future grandeur, which a few months ago, the hardiest of them would have startled at. They put me in mind of a man who intends to cut his own throat. He feels, however, some compunction at first, but by frequently thinking of the *same object*, he comes at last to view in idea the dreadful deed with the utmost unconcern ; and after, perhaps, coolly writing a letter (or a Pamphlet) expressive of his intentions, perpetrates the horrid crime without the least remorse!

That Ireland has very considerably improved within the last century, under the tyranny of England, as it is called, is evident to every impartial man who knows any thing of this country. No restrictions have been laid on us for many years past, consequently

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\* It is remarkable, that the people of England heard with decency and temper, the different motions in Parliament for an extension of the trade laws of Ireland, and in part redressed them ; whereas, some years ago, when a false report of an union was propagated here, a riotous mob surrounded the Parliament House, when one of them took possession of the Speaker's Chair, while the others dragged some of the Members out of their carriages, and committed many other acts of violence and indecency

sequently our present distress could not originate from them. The truth is, that a spirit of republicanism under the specious name of liberty, has long pervaded every part of our constitution, and too much influenced the conduct of the majority of the people. Hence proceeded the unpopularity of the American war, which would have fallen equally with the present Ministry on the first *Arch-Angel* in Heaven, if he conducted it. I believe there are few, even of the *party*, who do not know that the quantity of smuggled tea in the possession of some of the leading men in Boston, was the principal cause of the rebellion, more than the grievous oppressions they complained as labouring under, by a three-penny tax upon tea, or the apprehensions of a *future* tax upon that or any other commodity†. From that period almost every republican in England and Ireland took a sudden and decisive part, which being already so well known, I shall say no more of it than what is necessary to throw a *true light* upon the nature of our conduct, and to

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† I should have said it precipitated the rebellion, not caused it; for those smugglers were immediately joined by a majority of the merchants, to whom it gave a villainous opportunity of avoiding the payment of the vast sums they owed the generous British Merchants. The original cause of the rebellion was in the republican sects, who had a long and deep-rooted malignance to Kingly Government, and the Church of England. They were now gladly joined by ambitious villains of all denominations, who preferred their own aggrandizement to their country's happiness; and by the ignorant, easily led away by the false cry of the danger their civil and religious liberty were in from this three-penny tax, and the Canada Bill. These last are long since convinced they have been abominably duped out of their liberty, peace, and happiness! They feel the finger of an upstart Committee-man to be heavier far, than the loins of Government were ever likely to be.



to explain the *real* motives for our present *patriotic Associations*.

It was evident, even to the most sanguine leaders of the rebellion in America, that they were no match for great Britain *united* and determined to enforce the subordination of her Colonies. *Divide et Impera*, is an old State maxim. In the present crisis, to divide the people of Great Britain, and distract her councils, too easily affected at any time, was the only prospect America had in view to obtain an independency she had long looked up to. But how was this to be done? By engaging the republican party *here* and in Great Britain, to obstruct every measure of Government, to vilify the present ministry, and to render every effort to bring the refractory Colonies back to their obedience as unpopular as possible. To the misfortune of the state they succeeded in all, and those only, who from disaffection, profligacy or folly, contributed to the ruin of their country, were applauded as her real friends. They were joined in this country by the uninformed part of the community, and consequently every encouragement and assistance was given to their *suffering Brethren* in America.

The effects of war will ever be felt disagreeably by the generality of those engaged in it, whatever the advantages of a few individuals may be. When an embargo was laid on here, it was a distressing measure to many, tho' the general interest of the state required that the contractors should be enabled to fulfil their engagements. Perhaps it may not be thought quite foreign to the subject to observe, that those who suffered most by the embargo, in some measure deserved it; tho' there was no general complaint as to the price of beef, &c. before the embargo was laid on; yet when it was known, that the contractors had orders to supply the Army in America with provisions, they raised the price of every article most enormously, nor was it possible to obtain the supply,



supply, but by depriving those of a *foreign* market, who would not be content with a reasonable one at *home*. But even here, with the usual address of the *party*, the distress occasioned by the embargo was much exaggerated, as few ships that went from this kingdom to France, but carried beef, &c. with them in such quantities, that it was well known that commodity could be had at Bourdeaux, in the height of the embargo, cheaper than the contractors could get it here. Before I quit this article of our grievances, I must observe, that the impolitic oppressive conduct of the landlords in this kingdom, with that of those who rent their land in any large proportion, contributes much more to the general distress, than our commercial laws. The former thought they never could get enough for their land, and therefore let it at an immoderate price beyond the real value; the latter in order to pay the high rent they lay under, let the land to others at a *profit* rent, until sometimes, there were five or six degrees of tenants, from the person *immediately* deriving under the head land-lord, to the person in *actual* possession. This mode of proceeding, with stock-masters renting two or three thousand pounds a year and upwards, and keeping the land under sheep and black cattle only, have been the *real* causes of the depopulation of the southern and western parts of this kingdom. In the northern parts we have recent instances, that a similar mode as first mentioned, has produced the most fatal effects, as it is owing to that, that hundreds of industrious inhabitants were *drove* to America, where they fought battles she was much unequal to herself, notwithstanding her boasted prowess and valour.

However under all these difficulties, we had a temporary show of prosperity. Our imports in every article of luxury was excessive. The produce of the land bore a great—an extraordinary price, nay, wool was seventeen or eighteen shillings a stone, which, had we a free trade, must have excluded us from every

every foreign market, (the truth is, whenever we could find a market, we easily found means to supply it with every article of Irish manufacture it required.) The farmers thought the times would never change, and as they got great, I may say, unnatural prices for every article they sent to market, they consequently were obliged to give advanced prices for their store cattle; and in idea, all ranks of people were rich and happy. In short, like a man in a hectic habit, who having taken an exhilarating draught, shews uncommon signs of sprightliness and vigour, but when that evaporates, he feels a double portion of languor and decay. So our farmers, &c. when things came to their proper level, and that they were obliged to take prices, which they would have thought a few years before highly advantageous, yet being so much lower than the late unnatural price, *they* also fell into a state of languor and despair, and by the assistance of the *party*, were extremely willing to believe, it was all owing to the Ministry and their embargo, in conjunction with our commercial laws, which prohibits us a free trade.

The next object, is the distressed state of our manufacturers, who certainly are real objects of compassion. But is their distress occasioned by any old or new system of tyranny or oppression from Great Britain? Surely no. It proceeded from the improper manner in which the business of the Irish woollen ware house was carried on. From the monopolizing disposition of a *few* wealthy Clothiers amongst us and the more than reasonable profits they demanded for their goods, in proportion to the profits of an English Manufacturer, joined to the inferior quality of the cloth; and finally, the disinclination of our manufacturers to work at reasonable rates, when business is easily to be had. All which frequently obliged the Woollen Drapers in order to supply the market and to prevent the grossest imposition, to import

port more cloths, than otherwise they need have done.

From this state of the real causes of the distress of our Manufacturers, it appears that *the Iron hand of Oppression*, was not laid upon us by Great Britain in this instance, more than in the others treated of before:

I come now to the state of the publick Revenue. The patriotic News-paper Essays and Pamphlets, wrote to prove the glory and advantages Ireland is to enjoy under the *mild auspices* of the House of Bourbon, attribute the loss sustained there also, to the oppressive commercial laws we labour under. Tho' the gout and rheumatism are natural to our climate, I should not be surprised to hear an Irish patriot of a certain class, in a violent fit of either, exclaim against Great Britain as the cause. Indeed the copious libations he takes of *French wine* to enable him to stammer out his attachment to his new Ally, and to assist him to *resist* the tyranny of Great Britain, might naturally add to his pain. But what will not a real friend to his country suffer for it, especially if his claret is old and good?

That the pensions on the Irish establishment are a grievance cannot be denied, and that they are the natural consequences of our constitution, where patriots are *only so* to be bought, is likewise obvious. Yet, however they may have contributed to our distresses they certainly are not the efficient causes of them, for it is necessary to observe, that the great sources of public Revenue here are the duties paid upon wines, spirits and tobacco. The American war has diminished the importation of the latter, as well as rendered the importation of every other commodity more expensive and insecure, beyond what has been experienced in any former wars.

The great consumption of the Irish Spirit called



ed Whiskey \*, has very considerably diminished the importation of the two former, which, tho' a most essential benefit to the kingdom in general, yet that, and the large sums paid in premiums for the coast and land carriage of corn, has left the Treasury in a state of bankruptcy, as the revenue appropriated by law to the Linen-Board, to the amount of several thousands, has been stop'd to supply the current exigencies of Staté; besides, the pensions of all, and the salaries of several unpaid, so that some new Tax must be levied to compensate for the losses mentioned above. I can't perceive how this defalcation of the Public Revenue can be charged upon Great Britain, no more than I can, why any man who has the Real Interest of his Country at Heart, could hesitate a moment to assist Government in this particular, when it is plain, that the *partial* distress of the Treasury is chiefly owing to the *general* benefit arising to his Country, in making use of an article of *Irish Manufacture*, to the exclusion of foreign Wines and Spirits. But what adds to the distress of Government is, that the Irish Spirit in itself cannot bear a high Duty, and that even the half with which it is charged is never paid; so that, from the misconduct of some, the disaffection of many, the ill use made of the Bankruptcy Law, at *present* the fears of an Invasion, the want of confidence in each other, and the vast sums drained out of this Country by the Absentees, spring most, if not all the inconveniencies we so loudly charge upon Great Britain. In proof of part of the above, I appeal to the Custom House Books, the best channel

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\* It has been the custom for some years, to impregnate this spirit with Currant and Rasbery Juice, of which is made a cheap, agreeable, wholesome Punch; in-somuch that for one gallon of Wine, or Punch made of foreign Spirits, that are made use of now, ten were consumed a few years ago.



channel to become acquainted with the real State of a Commercial Nation : It is there you will see, for some years an amazing, *decrease* in the importation of the articles of luxury, which were constantly paid for in cash, and a great *increase* in the exportation of the produce of this Country. Can it then be said with any reason, that such a Country could be in distress, if the causes did not exist among themselves, especially as no new restraints have been laid upon them ?

In this weak attempt to open the eyes of the *loyal*, well-meaning part of the Community, in letting them see, that our distresses proceed more from ourselves, and from causes incident to human nature, than from a system of tyranny in Great-Britain, let me not be charged unjustly, with being an Enemy to my country. In the beginning of the American disputes, the *party*, vociferously exclaimed, that if we lost America we were undone. I believed it *then*, and am convinced of it *now*. But how are the tempers of men changed with the times ? The instant the Americans declared their independency, the *party* here re-echoed it loudly, and tho' Ireland, according to their former declarations, was to be ruined by it, the *patriots* nevertheless left her to herself, their devoirs were paid to the rising American Sun. I mention this merely, because many of those who are now formost in pretending to such anxiety for the prosperity of Ireland, are the very men who constantly promoted, as much as in them lay, the independency of America. While I sincerely wish it may never take place, because, as Lord Chatham in his dying speech said, the moment it took place, Britain's Sun was set, and with it *Ireland's* also. I shall never think, because I am told so by an advocate for American Independency, that the depression of Great Britain can be a benefit to us. It may be ungrateful in the relation, but I cannot avoid reminding my Countrymen, that we have

have not any one requisite amongst us, that insure a permanent Independence, and if we are to be dependent, let no man blame me for chusing to be so to Great-Britain before France.

Our *patriotic* prints teem with Rebellion in every page, and the man who would wish to promote the peace and happiness of his Country, is looked upon as a Madman or Court-Hireling. Say the patriots, let the French come as soon as they will, we cannot be worse than we are, under the Tyranny of Great Britain. Here the Snake in the Grass is easily seen. American Independence is still problematical; and it is no secret, that notwithstanding her boasted power, had Great Britain not been fatally *disunited* at home, her degenerate sons would have long since been brought to a proper sense of their duty and *real* interests. Therefore the last efforts of some of the Irish Patriots are, that as accidents may possibly prevent, even the united power of France and Spain, from giving their *darling* Independence to America, they, under the specious pretence of *groaning* under British Tyranny, entered into associations to embarrass her as much as possible, throw off all Dependence upon her, believe her our greatest Enemy, and consequently, that upon an Invasion, we cannot possibly change for the worse.

Great Britain has promised us redress, but that will not content us. I will take upon me to say that redress in our Commercial Laws, would be the greatest disappointment *some* individuals, who have promoted the present Associations, could meet with, as it would take from them every excuse, for plunging the Nation into Scenes of Blood and Confusion, by which *alone*, they think they can accelerate the Independence of America. Whenever our Commercial Laws come to be discussed, every real friend to his Country, must wish it may be carried on candidly and dispassionately. To expect a free Trade without contributing to the Exigencies of state, is what an advocate for American independence  
only

only could think of. Great-Britain may ask us to bear too much, we may probably wish to bear too little. Here it is, that the men, who really wish for a union of interests and affection, ought to unite their influence and abilities, to bring about so desirable an end. Though it is evident, that a discussion of an affair of such magnitude and importance, will require perhaps the concurrence or interposition of our own parliament, and the most mature deliberation on all sides, yet, say the patriotic prints and pamphlets, England trifles with us—let us have no more to say to her—we *will* be independent, and if we cannot compass it ourselves, France and Spain are ready to assist us. If this is not the *Letter*, I am sure it is the *Spirit* of their writings.

To you, who are friends to your King and country I write. Be not led away I beseech you to assist a set of men, lost to every sense of duty and affection to their King and country, blind even to their own *dearer* interests, and whose sole intention is to subvert the constitution. I know their principles well. They boast of having thirty Thousand men in arms in a few months, who are to assist in throwing off the tyranny of Great Britain. However some individuals of their mode of thinking may have *crept* into the respectable Corps of Volunteers in this kingdom, I have not the least doubt of by far the majority of them acting with the loyalty and spirit of real friends to their King and country.

If it is mentioned, that by the outrageous or impolitic conduct of Ireland Great Britain may possibly retaliate, all the patriotic prints tell you, that in her present *divided* debilitated State, she *dare not*. To vapour away, in either national or private concerns, more from a belief of your adversary's want of ability or spirit, than a consciousness that you possess any yourself, reflects but little credit. It is besides bad policy, for if by any accident you should happen to be mistaken you run the risk of being severely punished and unpitied into the bargain.

Every



Every man of every country, is highly justifiable in preferring the manufactures of his own particular soil, especially Irishmen in her present distressed situation. But in doing so, he ought to avoid injuring her in the manner of his proceeding. If one nation is mad enough to act a wild impolitic part, in violently\* excluding men, from acting conformable at least to the laws sanctified by our own legislature, in prohibiting a *total* intercourse with another, from imaginary grievances, and that confessedly a more powerful state, and with whom a long commerical Inter-  
course had been carried on; I think it is not a very violent supposition, that the nation so insulted should, though inconsistent with her own interest, act a mad part also. Let us view for a moment, the consequences of this paroxysm of madness on both sides. *We* prohibit every article from Great Britain, that we can manufacture ourselves, but we have not the virtue to deny ourselves French wine; for our patriots are no Whiskey-Drinkers. *Great-Britain*, without striking a blow, might take off the duty on foreign linens, which would prevent us from selling a yard. She might keep her coals, from us, whereby the majority of our poor in the Seaport towns would perish; before we could improve our own collieries. She might keep her Hops, Tin, Lead, Pewter, and Copper from us, with a long train of *et ceteras*, and by only stationing a small sloop of war in each of our Ports, prevent us from getting them any where else. All this she could do, if she was as mad as we are. Say the patriots, *we would* call in the house of Bourbon. It seems they are much changed, as *they* are the only *Patrons* of liberty in this age. Say I, all history proves the fatality of such a measure, whenever it was adopted. But supposing Great-Britain, upon finding us untractable,

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\* Witness the outrages committed on the houses and goods of some respectable characters for importing British Manufactures.



table, should give up America, and make peace with the house of Bourbon; what then becomes of Ireland!

But let me not longer dwell on the idea of so unequal, so unnatural a contest. Though I write entirely from memory, I will venture to say, the Fathers of the present ministry did not exist when the laws that restrain our trade were passed, and a repeal of which, in our present circumstances, is so essential to our interests and our being. Why then execrate the sons for what their fathers in *point of time* could not be guilty of? When a relaxation of our trade laws was first mentioned in Parliament, the Minister was well disposed to serve us; but had he persisted in granting us *all* that was asked, he would have been left exposed to the utmost violence of a *furious* Opposition. From all which, my dear countrymen, I earnestly entreat you to guard against the insinuations of those incendiaries, who because they have equal access to some of the public papers, spread discontent first, and then disaffection through the land, and are unremitting in their endeavours to mislead you. Believe them not, when they tell you Great Britain is our greatest enemy. Rather be assured she is our best friend and protectress. We blame the people of England for opposing a relaxation of our trade laws. It was certainly highly impolitic in them to do so; and though their conduct was perfectly consistent with human nature, which in general prefers a moderate present gain, to a greater in prospect, and that *we* would have behaved much more violently, had we been in their situation, yet we have the happiness to find that their prejudices are much lessened, as one of the most sanguine opposers of Irish trade (Sir Cecil Wray) has condescended to publish a recantation of his sentiments, in one of our papers. Be assured, that though I have fairly proved our Distresses does not proceed from the English trade laws, yet we will be eased and benefitted by a relaxation of

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them,

them, or, upon *fair terms*, a total abolition of the m I have explained to you why that cannot be the work of a day, and with violence to precipitate the measure, is the surest way to defeat it.

Before I lay down my pen, I must observe, that nothing can characterize the factiousness of the times so much as, that, notwithstanding all our cries of poverty and distress; yet such is the *luxury, venality, and licentiousness* of the people, that we reject the *only* measure that can preserve us from destruction. The *virtue* of the Democratic part of our constitution is fled. We do not even imitate our *best* friends, the French, in possessing patriotic *honour* enough for our Sovereign, to enable him to give new vigour to the State. And the *happier* climates of Europe, know not a nation that obeys through *fear*. In this gloomy distracted situation, the only place we could reasonably expect to find relief, a *Union in our own breasts*, is, alas! fatally shut against us, by *faction, envy, and ambition*. All which makes it clear to me, that we are much in the same situation the Romans were at the latter end of their Commonwealth. An alteration must, from the nature of things, take place among us, as it did among them. The period, as well as the consequences, are uncertain; but I should think, there can hardly be any medium preserved in the change, as it is probable we must either sink into the utmost obscurity and distress; or, like them, rise with renewed dignity and vigour, under the conduct of one of those geniuses formed to command and protect mankind\*

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\* See the following prediction of the admirable Polybius, relative to the fall of the Roman Republic, than whom, no man knew the state and constitution of his country better, as the event proved; who then that compares their conduct with ours, that must not feel, if similar causes at any time produce similar effects, the utmost apprehensions and dismay.

“ That

“ That all human things are subject to corruption and change, scarce needs any proof, but of the two ways in which the constitution of a state may be overturned, *external force*, or *inward disorder*; tho’ the first hardly admits of any rule of judgment, the progress of the last is fixed and regular. For when a nation has surmounted many and great dangers, and consequently arrived at unrivalled eminence and power, it is plain that amidst continual affluence, the general way of living will grow more sumptuous, the *Citizens* more unruly, more imperious in magistracies, and in all public management. Ambition, therefore, and the dread of disgrace, will first begin to change to the worse, accompanied, for the most part, with ostentation, expence, and emulation in magnificence. But it is the *body* of the people that give the final blow, and compleat their own ruin; for when they imagine themselves oppressed by the avarice of their rulers on one hand, (the Patricians) and are flattered and enflamed by interested and ambitious leaders on the other, (the Tribunes of the people) they then consult nothing but their passion, *throw off* all regard to authority, will no longer endure their magistrates, but take all, even the most *material* parts of power into their own hands. The Government then assumes the prettiest of all names, *Liberty and popular Sway*; but becomes in effect the worst of all things—a *Mob-ruled Nation*—for the Democracy or power of the people, quickly turns to open violence. Then the assembled multitude banishes one great man, murders another, confiscates estates, makes division of public lands, until like a wild beast exasperated with its own cruelty, it finally submits to a master and *absolute Lord*.” POLYBIUS, Book 6th.



*On the Publication of the foregoing Defence, the following Letters appeared in the public Prints.*

TO the CONDUCTORS of the HIBERNIAN JOURNAL.

GENTLEMEN,

**I** AM not so much surprized at seeing the wretched attempt made in the Defence of Great Britain, and published in your Journal, as the long silence of the partizans of that kingdom, who, like Locusts, continued to devour all that is essential to the support of our country. Some needy Placeman at length took up the pen in a desperate cause, and indiscriminately abuses the best friends of our liberties. He utters one falsehood after another, with the most barefaced impudence, and points it out as our interest to continue the miserable tools of Great Britain.

So much has been already written on the Subject of our miseries, that I need not tread over the same ground, or bring any new arguments to the view of my Countrymen, to urge them to a perseverance in the laudable task of removing their burthens. The glorious flame pervades the bosom of every Irishman! We call not for a Redress of Grievances by hatching a Rebellion, as this abandoned scribbler would insinuate. Our Resolutions are humble, though manly; and a decent fortitude marks the features of our Associations. We hold not, after the manner of the English Republicans, a Petition in one hand, and the Brand of War in the other. We have only collected the streams into one that so long impoverished the main body, make a Revolution within our own circle, and will no longer be swallowed in the Vortex of another.

If England has not brought this kingdom to ruin, why do our streets present us with such spectacles  
of



of famine in the midst of abundant harvests;— Why is our credit so far destroyed, that scarcely any man is found to accept of the paper of another; why are our farmers ruined, and our landholders unable to pay their debts; why does beggary and want stare the trader in the face; and the manufacturer pine away his life in wretchedness?

Certainly these evils did not originate among ourselves, notwithstanding the sophistical and false assertions, of the pretended Irishman, who takes up his venal pen in the defence of Great Britain, and makes the infamous assertion, that our views are directed, like that of the American colonies at independence. Humility and the most patient representation have marked all our proceedings; neither disaffection to the sovereign, nor inclination for revolt, hath appeared in any part of our conduct. Entitled to the rights of the rest of our fellow-subjects, we humbly petitioned for an extension of our commerce; nay, did not even petition for that, until we found ourselves involved in the crimes, the disputes, the war, and the calamities of Great Britain. When that life which supplied the reflux tide of the heart was checked, and turned to a morbid state, how impoverished and cold must be the supply of the distant members! Great Britain and her former glory, is shook to the centre. Ireland as a branch of the empire, feels it with tenfold misery. In such a situation, justice, gratitude, humanity,— nay policy, required that we should not be suffered to perish under the stroke, and the only means left to accomplish this end was to free our trade, and furnish us with the means of Existence. This was ungratefully and wickedly denied. Like the Dutch procrastination we were put off from day to day, while famine stalked through the land, and we saw even the hopes of our expiring trade, in the last stage of a hectic. Circumstanced even thus—this nation was never betrayed into a symptom of disaffection. We left off praying to Hercules, and set our own shoulders to the waggon

gon—we associated to consume our own manufactures. This wore not the face of rebellion, though it is evident we are groaning under the *Tyranny of Great-Britain*, by denying us the privileges the laws of God and man entitle us to, and *Tyranny* alone has made her coerce.

He next proceeds to defend the embargo!—Asserts without advancing a single authority, that our beef could be bought in Bourdeaux cheaper than the contractors could buy it here. The ignorance and falsehood of this scribbler, must, in this instance in particular, point out the complexion of the whole; as it can neither be supposed, nor admitted even as probable, that after salting, barrelling, shipping, and the risk of smuggling, that commodity could be afforded to be sold cheaper in a foreign kingdom, than contractors who make engagements of a large amount, could procure at home.

Before the misconduct of Great Britain deprived us of our trade to America, to France, and Spain, we had some means of supporting the little advantages allowed us. Her own foreign trade, enabled her to take our Wool, which her *tyranny* confined to her own market. When the corrupt measures of her government lost her both the American and foreign consumption for her Cloths, the Wool of England was found more than sufficient for its demand, and we were left with our hands tied up to shift for ourselves; the melancholy consequence is, that Wool is fallen from nineteen to eight shillings per stone, and a universal bankruptcy has ensued, from the tenant to the landlord, who turned their views to the rearing of sheep, and all the dependent branches on that important source of wealth, are immerged in the same poverty.

The next attack which this enemy to Ireland makes, is upon our “Associations (as he calls it) to distress Great Britain.” Here indeed, a man must wonder at the unparalleled impudence of the man,  
who

who dares to assert that it was done to *distress* Great Britain. He may with as much truth advance, that it is criminal for Ireland to feed upon her own Beef, because it may be the interest of Jamaica to send us Turtle. Would to Heaven, they had long since associated ! Nor do I think the Company of Booksellers can ever be forgotten, who first set the patriotic example. Treated with insolence and contempt by Great Britain, tho' she has crippled all our limbs, she will find us leaning upon one another's shoulders, and walking without her support. My Countrymen are only in the infancy of *association* ; other objects will enlarge anon, and their eyes will open to their own natural and abundant advantages. *Association* will be as dear to them as Magna Charta, and our children will hereafter join in one grateful sound, *Liberty and Association !*

This pitiful defender of Great Britain concludes with a malignant address to the loyal subjects (as he calls them) of this kingdom. It is such a compound of calumny against the *real* friends of Ireland, as can only excite scorn and detestation of the mind which produced it. It rests not upon my weak asseveration to say, that the King does not possess more faithful subjects than the Irish ; that they are a much-injured and afflicted people, who, in the midst of want and despair, turned out, at their own expence, throughout the kingdom, to testify their loyalty ; but patience itself may be exhausted ; they look for a free trade, and a redress of their grievances ; should they be denied both, I shall not pretend to answer, but this *patient* and *loyal* people may be roused to a sense of their injuries, and make Great Britain know, as they have already convinced every nation in Europe, that they *still* possess bravery which no difficulties can damp, and resolution which no *Tyranny* can conquer.

SARFIELD.

To



To the COMMITTEE for conducting the FREE-PRESS.

GENTLEMEN,

THE Hibernian Journal, of Monday last, contains part of an essay (which, it seems, is continued) entitled, "*A Defence of Great Britain against a charge of Tyranny in the Government of Ireland. By an Irishman.*"

This production sets out with a heavy charge indeed, against the POOR AND INSULTED PEOPLE OF IRELAND:—no less than of disaffection in some, and folly in others, by which a faction has been formed for the scheme of *Independence, under the auspices of France.*

Let me ask,—Does, or does not this assertion contain a wicked libel against this country?—I shall quote no more of it. Let the whole be read with attention, and it will be found a composition of falsehood, perversion, and scandalous impudence, from the beginning to the end. Had the writer confined himself to the principles which he himself premises, and affirmed (as he does) that our distresses do not principally proceed from the *restrictions laid on our trade by Great Britain*, he should have remained unnoticed by me. But, such an infamous imputation, calculated in the moment of distress, danger, and uncertainty, seems rather calculated to give existence to ideas unknown to the bosoms of Irishmen. They are excrescences, teeming from a corrupt heart. No doubt, these extraordinary essays will travel back to England, where, I am confident, they originated, and in the ministerial papers, appear as evidence against us, under the authority of our own prints and signature.—What a pernicious effect may such an impression have on the minds of the Members at the approaching sessions of the English Parliament, when Irish affairs come to be discussed? We too fatally  
feel

feel the force of former prejudices against us there. How may the trumpet of Opposition swell on the discordant notes of *faction*,—*republican principles*,—*French connection*,—*independence*, &c.

The people of Ireland are distressed to the last stage of misery. It is not in this place, nor that place; it is not in this branch, nor that branch; it is not this person, nor that person; it is universal, general, and unconfined; the causes are well known, and well understood. We have passed through the different Stages of this rising disorder, with patience, temper, and unanimity; we have borne the denials of relief, when even the pangs of agony rent our bosoms; and we still await the justice of the British legislature with hope. The English well know our NON-IMPORTATION ASSOCIATIONS were inevitable; they know they were founded on the FIRST LAW OF NATURE, that it was the only method to save the lives of our famished manufacturers, until their legislature could examine and remove the causes, and that, when that is done, they will dissolve of course.—Our Independent Corps derive authority from that immutable law of self-defence. They are a PHALANX in direct opposition to the auspices of France; they are composed of persons of the first property and influence amongst us, and are no less intitled to the gratitude of their countrymen, than of Government.

I shall not hereafter condescend to take any farther notice of this curious essayist, but I would caution all printers against a species of deception, which *English hirelings* often practice with success.—They send papers to their correspondents either here or in Edinburgh, &c. these are imposed on the printers (often with payment) as productions of the country, and when printed by them, are reprinted in the London prints

prints under that denomination,—the effect and intention of this needs no explanation.—

LUCIUS HIBERNICUS.

Aug. 31, 1779.

P. S. I sincerely hope that, if in future any other performances of this kind shall be continued by the printer of the Hibernian Journal, it will be treated with the deserved contempt of silence, by every Irishman. I am no friend to restraint on the Press, I wish it always open to fair investigation, but I lament to see that inestimable privilege of a free people, scandalously perverted to give a specious colouring to the worst actions, and justify the most ruinous measures of a set of unprincipled villains, who can behold with cold indifference the convulsive pangs of an expiring country, while they are fattening on her bleeding vitals.

To the CONDUCTORS of the HIBERNIAN JOURNAL.

GENTLEMEN,

**I** HAVE read with some attention, “ A Defence of Great Britain against a charge of Tyranny in the Government of Ireland, by an Irishman,” published in your truly impartial paper. Tho’ ignorant of the author, and a most sincere friend to my country, I cannot view it in the light Lucius Hibernicus does in the Freeman’s Journal of the 4th inst. and Sarsfield in yours. The sum total of both their productions are so much alike, that in answering one I shall answer both, except with a distinction or two; one of which is, that Lucius tacitly admits the Irishman has given a just account of the *real* causes of our distress. The other, that Mr. Sarsfield denies it; asserts we are *all* the most loyal people in the world, and those who abhor both king and bishop are the only real friends to the *Constitution* of this country; and almost in the same breath,  
as



as good as swears by the living G—d, if Great Britain does not give us a free trade (without mentioning the least condition on our part) that he and his *Associates* will *force* her to it. When men write or speak with unusual warmth, they are commonly hurried beyond the bounds of decency and discretion, and frequently betray sentiments totally inimical to the success of their *Plots* and designs; such, I am sure, every dispassionate man will find all the patriotic writers, from Guatimozin to Mr. Sarsfield; he and Lucius *pretend* to loyalty, and in consequence are highly enraged at the imputation thrown out by the Irishman against those whom he describes as more friendly to America, than even to Ireland herself, and thereby promoting faction and discontent through all ranks of people. They seem to me to be two of those who are surprized at being discovered in a plot against the *Constitution* of their country, and terribly enraged they are against the discovery; they will not however be angry with me for placing them under the banners of Guatimozin, or supposing them one and the same; but in order to make some excuse for their ill manners and absurdity, I must suppose them both to be Guatimozin in a *passion*, for however I shall prove *him* inconsistent, inflammatory, or disaffected, there is a deliberate systematic manner in him, which his two Satellites, perhaps, from *inebriety* are totally destitute of.

Need I take up your paper, Gentlemen, with endless quotations of the evil tendency of many of the popular prints, in “spreading disaffection through the land.” But, says Lucius, “the people of England will bring this charge of disaffection &c. against us from our own prints;” that they certainly may, but it is from prints published long before a Defence of Great Britain, &c. appeared. Exclusive of factious essays, innumerable, I shall only mention two productions; one, a letter to the People of Ireland, &c. in the *shape* of a pamphlet; a turgid performance,  
extremely

extremely well-calculated to inflame a mob, whose highest pitch of erudition is to read and *spell* a hard word when it comes in the way. But luckily so destitute of a single Grace in composition to recommend it, that it must spend its force in vain upon every other class of readers; it would therefore be disagreeable and unentertaining to quote from that. The other, Guatimozin and Causidicus, the same person, who so handsomely complimented himself in different news-paper essays; though the frippery of such a conduct has been ever justly ridiculed in the persons of petit Maitres of all ages, yet as he seems to take the lead in those *patriotic* essays, I chuse *him* for the champion of the party the *Irishman* mentions.

As an instance of his *disaffection* among a thousand, in page 55, you will find him earnestly entreating Great Britain to leave us to ourselves, as we should soon find that in losing our powerful friends we should lose our most *powerful enemies*. And in page 17, 18 and 19, he most loyally lays down the plan, by which when we have thrown off all dependence on Great Britain, the preservation of the balance of power in Europe, will ensure us that independency. Blush at your unparalleled effrontery, Messrs. Lucius Hibernicus, and Sarsfield in this detection; for sure you are not such apostates as to deny the tenets of the head of your political principles. As Guatimozin is the star by which a certain class of writers steer their political course, will the two gentlemen say then, our "public prints do not teem with rebellion." For notwithstanding their champion's definition of it, if the quotations are not replete with folly, disaffection and rebellion, I know not what can be called so. The fact is, had I not such proof of them in a writer high in the estimation of the party, I should never have minded the *Ravings* of such men as Lucius Hibernicus and Sarsfield.

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As an instance among many of his inconsistency, and the false principles upon which the said Guatimozin reasons, he says in page 27, in treating of our linen manufacture, "that the Irish linens are superior to those of all the World," whilst our coarse linens are miserably bad. The fact is, we have improved the manufacture to a degree of refinement that injures its quality. Our coarse linens are manufactured of a part of the plant, called *Tow*. This is what gives a preference to the Russian and German linens in market, as they work up all the flax into a coarse cloth, which is durable in the proportion of the quality of the stuff of which it is composed, which makes it the object of the artizans and hard working people, who look for duration principally in the commodity they buy. Hence it is that so much German and Russian linen comes to England."

After such an affectation of candour in his discussion of that article, could a man who possessed the least spark of that genuine *Amor Patriæ* add, a factious inflammatory postscript to that very essay, in the following words: I find in the freeman's Journal of this day, (Thursday) by the enquiry before the lords into the affairs of Greenwich Hospital, that all the *Sheeting* is of Russian linen. Hence may you form a judgement of the encouragement extended by *Ministers themselves* to the manufacture of Ireland. Such a *bungling* factious attempt to inflame and misrepresent is scarcely to be equalled; for he first confesses that our coarse linens are incapable of giving service in certain cases, and then blames the minister for not using it where it would require a particular firmness and durability.

The truth is, the Irishman describes what he and I, and every man who mixes at all in the world must, hear every day in every Coffe-house, and Porter-house, and sorry I am to say, from my own knowledge in companies, where from the rank and circumstances of those who compose them, much chaster principles ought



ought to have been found. From all which it is plain, that to assert the Non-existence of them, to use Lucius's own words, is a real "composition of falsehood, perversion, and scandalous impudence," and can tend to nothing but to cover some latent malignant designs, not ripe enough yet to be brought to light.

Peculiarly unfortunate surely must that Monarch be, who lived to see his Dominions produce in less than the tenth part of a century, two such *flaming Meteors*, as the Arch-patriot in England, and Gautimozin here. The former, however, appears only like a Billingsgate scold, with his hands full of dirt, factiously daubing his Sovereign, his Family and the Scotch. But there is an air of dignified *treason* in Gautimozin (which Sarsfield attempts to ape;) for *he* appears, brandishing the bloody knife; ready to cut asunder the bands that do, and *ought* to bind Great Britain and Ireland for ever. Though no man more highly approves his intentions (if he had any) to serve his country, than I do, in procuring her Extension of Trade, yet every man must *detest* his attempts to *alienate* the minds of the people, from that respect and attachment to Great Britain, which are so essential to our peace and prosperity.

It is in such instances that the *Irishman* seems to have studied the temper of the party to effect; for though there is every prospect of our being relieved, yet obtaining it peaceably will not answer their purpose; for Sarsfield as good as tells you, the point of the Sword only shall decide all our differences with Great Britain. It is, however, ungenerous to insult the weakness of a government that is *obliged* to suffer all this, especially as those patriotic gentry must be conscious, that *they themselves* would be among the foremost to punish an offence, not half so atrocious, against their *darling* Republic. As Lucius has promised not to reply, for fear of forcing so able a champion once more  
into

into the lists, I shall leave him to rest in peace and *oblivion* until the next revolution, if he lives so long, when I doubt not he will cut a most respectable figure, and shall therefore take leave of him, with requesting he will not re-echo his falsehoods, perversion, and matchless impudence upon me, for supporting the poor Irishman's assertions, as I have given chapter and verse from the first writer of the party, to prove the truth of what he advanced.

A word or two with the furious declamatory Mr. Sarsfield, and I have done. I find he has read the Defence of Great Britain in as great a hurry as he has penned the answer to it. The *Irishman* has faithfully given us a catalogue of misfortunes, and mismanagement among *ourselves*, fully sufficient to distress any nation labouring under them. He recommends to every man to wear the manufacture of his own country in preference to any other, but to avoid doing it with an air of *insult* in our situation. He is sensible we want redress in our commercial laws, and he is sure we will obtain it, but recommends peace and moderation as the best methods to ensure success. Sarsfield is further enraged, that the *Irishman* should defend the embargo, and with an air of insolent superiority, the offspring of ignorance and self sufficiency, asks the *scribbler* how it is probable, that beef, after the expence of packing, &c. &c. could be had cheaper at a foreign market, than at home? I will tell him; before the embargo was laid on, beef went from this to Bourdeaux at very reasonable rates. The moment the contract with government took place, the price was raised enormously here, which occasioned the embargo; and accounts for the cheapness of the foreign market. He further says, that the Irishman asserts this without proof. I cannot possibly say what proof he was possessed of, but if Sarsfield wants information,

formation, let him apply to the committee of merchants.

September 9.

A REAL IRISHMAN.

P. S. Sarsfield laments as a *grievance*, that wool is fallen from nineteen to eight shillings a stone. Though the latter is too low as Lands set now, yet superficial he must be in knowledge of trade, as well as in his perusal of the defence of Great Britain, &c. not to know, that had we the free exportation of our woollen cloths, such a price as nineteen shillings a stone, would effectually exclude us from a foreign market. The Irishman mentioned this also, but *he chose* to overlook it.

F I N I S

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